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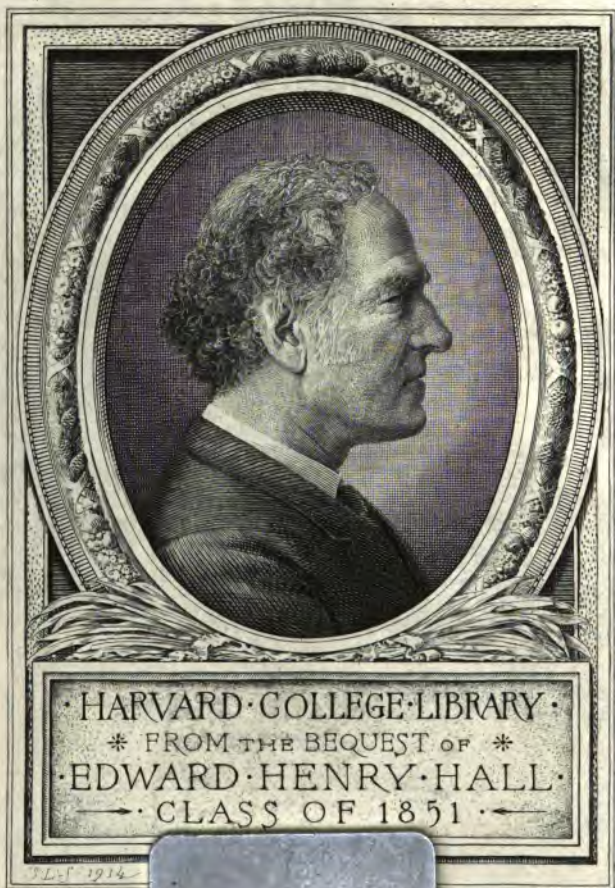
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*And the King's Visit*  
THE

# KING'S VISIT TO IRELAND.

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IN A LETTER

ADDRESSED

To the People of Ireland.

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"Dream ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum,  
non tamquam ad sceleratum."

CICERO.

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DUBLIN:

RICHARD MILLIKEN, GRAFTON-STREET,

BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY,  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CLARENCE,  
HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD LIEUTENANT,  
AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

1821.

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TO THE

**PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

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**CONSCIOUS** of your virtues, my dear countrymen, I take the liberty of addressing you. The ignorantly weak or desperately wicked might require a bolder tone, or a more indignant language, but the generous and the brave, the virtuous and the wise, will hear the sincerity of truth without being offended at its plainness, and calmly inquire into the causes from which the misfortunes of their country proceed, and the measures to remove them, without feeling the interest of the inquiry diminished by the humility of the advocate. I wish to awake no irritable feeling, to rouse no dormant passion, to



offend no party pride. The cause I plead is that of Ireland ; and I address my countrymen in a spirit of conciliation, and, in the words of my motto, “ I will speak to the citizen as to a good man, not as to a wicked one.”

A brave and loyal people are always animated, in peace or in war, by the presence of their king:—in war, he leads them to victory or a glorious death, and in peace he establishes their liberty and happiness, and secures their prosperity by the enactment of wise laws. But war may be levied to gratify ambition, or satiate vengeance. Our king comes with the olive branch, the harbinger of peace: in the spirit of peace let us receive him. In the lapse of centuries no king traversed our soil but for purposes of war and desolation ; he came, not to conciliate the feelings of the people, to soothe their irritations, to inquire into their grievances, to see and to feel their wants, and to ameliorate or redress what admits alleviation without subversion, or what can be removed because it is noxious. Irishmen, His Majesty pays you a spontaneous visit ; an intention not lightly taken up, but the result of mature deliberation. The object of the visit

then must be as important in its consequences, as the reasons were deep which led to its adoption. A corresponding feeling of kindness and affection may achieve great benefits for your country; one act of imprudence, or faction, or disloyal feeling, may extinguish your hopes and those of your posterity. As citizens, as subjects, as men, reflecting men, guided by loyalty, you may accomplish much; but if you abandon the enthusiasm of your feelings to the designs of self-interested and crafty leaders, who act not for your benefit, but their own, you may destroy or retard the interests of that country which you love, and that ruin may be accelerated by those leaders, who avail themselves even of your virtues—virtues still, though ignorantly exercised, because they are aware, that in the heat of honest and effervescent feeling you love Ireland, “not wisely, but too well.” To love her wisely now may exalt your country and save yourselves. A Roman emperor declared, that a monarch should be like the sun, and shed the influence of his beams on every part of his dominions. Receive George the Fourth as the Roman people did Aurelian—the glory of amelioration will be his;

the benefit, the lasting benefit, will be your own. To secure these advantages, every man of every party, will admit to be important. The measures must proceed from the king, he comes in the spirit of peace. Permit me to lay before you how they may be frustrated, retarded, extinguished.

Our country, one of which every Irishman is deservedly proud, has been kept down in the scale of nations, not so much by the malice of her enemies, as by her own imprudence. By the exhibition of feelings too easily excited, and capable of misdirection. Susceptible, but not reflecting—ardent, but not matured—always honest, but not always wise—always intending right, but not always sagaciously pursuing the means to accomplish it, your pretended friends make those virtues the ladder by which they ascend to wealth and popularity. While directing them to objects purely their own, they involve the country in faction and alarm, and you become the victims of that credulity which led you to believe, that the opinion was wise, or the action honest, because your leaders, in whose higher knowledge and experience you placed

implicit confidence, induced you to believe so ; and while that higher knowledge was exerted for purposes exclusively their own,—if they succeeded, you derived no advantage ; if they failed, you were abandoned by them to the penalty of the laws. Is not this so ? Has it not always been so ? During the conspiracy of the United Irishmen, were you not led on by secret councils to acts of insubordination and rebellion, and did not the very men who caused you to violate your allegiance in times of peace, abandon you in the field of battle, and left you exposed to the sword of justice, while they made terms to secure impunity for themselves, and left to you misfortune, infamy, and death. Where are O'Connor and Emmet, M'Nevin and Sampson now ? Reaping the fruit of their perfidy by honours and rewards. Their treachery to you obtained for O'Connor distinguished rank in the French army, and has procured for the others rank in their professions, and wealth and honours in America. Can you not, my countrymen, deduce a moral lesson to guide and instruct you in this single historical fact. Should it not teach you the inestimable value of order and

submission to the laws, confidence in yourselves, and suspicion of those men who endeavour to lead you to their violation. Look to the history of every nation of the globe. In proportion to a submission to the laws, when they are enacted in wisdom and justice, do every people prosper in a collective and even individual capacity, and become happy, great, and free. If we obey the laws even where there are restraints, restraints imposed by imperious necessity, not choice, that obedience will, in its operation, more effectually remove those restraints, than any effort made through turbulence or arms. One restraint removed leads to the extinction of another, until the wisdom which imposed it will feel that justice and sound policy require its repeal, and the full benefit of free and equal laws cannot be denied to those, who appreciate their value, and prove their estimation of them by a wise and prudent submission.

But your leaders tell you, that a public and open avowal of your will can anticipate this wise submission—that you can alarm the fears of those who oppress you—that the language of freedom should be bold—and that the people

who wish to be free have only to will it. This is not only specious, but false, it is the language of the tempter, who allures you by the beauty of the fruit to receive the sting of the asp that has poisoned it; the glossy verbiage of the French school, that deluged Europe with blood, and for nearly thirty years covered it with desolation, that spoke the language of freedom and peace while it meditated military slavery and interminable war; that tried, during that time, every speculation in politics; that proposed and abandoned every system of reform and constitution, and at last filled up the measure of its crimes by exciting the peasantry of every country to whom the revolutionary leaders had promised reform and liberty, and whom they had betrayed and enslaved, to arms against themselves. Insulted; betrayed, oppressed, the nations of Europe rose as one man, destroyed their iron sway, and after a war of twenty-five years, and the loss of four millions of human beings, the French people adopted that very form of government which they had originally subverted. Pause, Irishmen, and think upon this. A fertile soil; unbounded resources; a martial and chivalrous people; a

population of twenty-five millions ; numerous foreign colonies ; a well disciplined army ; well appointed fleets, wafting the treasures of every land into every part of the known world ; commerce, manufactures, trade, respected by all nations, and in alliance with all—this was the state of France in 1787. Now look at the evils produced by a few factious leaders—lawyers ambitious, but unprincipled, and churchmen presenting the olive of peace to conceal the dagger of the rebel and murderer. These men talked of reform ; of restoration of forfeited rights ; of a more pure and equal constitution ; of the few, aggrandized ; of the millions, enslaved ; of the crimes of their oppressors, and the sufferings of the oppressed ; they called on the nation to be free, and, in their sybilline jargon, the nation willed it. Criminal credulity ! Fatal confidence in their chiefs ! The government was overturned ; their monarch murdered ; their nobility butchered ; the people suffering worse than Egyptian bondage by the law of conscription ; the taxation of the Bourbon dynasty a merciful contribution for the defence of the state, and the protection of the people, and

the just and equal taxation of the great nation, under Napoleon's dynasty, the grinding exaction of a Turkish bashaw, and an inquisitorial tyranny which could give only an anticipation of the torments of hell. The leaders became the tyrants; the Robespierres, the Marats, and the Dantons; the Brissots, the Barras, and the Buonapartes; the Jacobins and the Moderes, whatever the designation, the people were still the slaves; and the leaders, these very leaders that broke down the ancient fabric of the constitution, and substituted their own, and called on the people to do these things, because it was for the restoration of their rights, trampled on all right, and law, and liberty, and made the people an instrument to oppress themselves. Europe wronged and insulted, while France was neutralized or wasted by a desolating tyranny; flew to arms, and the leaders, from without and from within, were hurled from their ill-gotten power, a monument of perfidy to those they had betrayed, and an eternal lesson to guide those, who too easily lend themselves to the schemes of factious demagogues, and designing, ambitious men.



I write for your instruction, not to betray you. The man who advocates peace, and order, and submission to law, I am pained to avow it, cannot be popular with a particular class in Ireland. I court this unpopularity, because the cause I advocate is just and honest. I write for your happiness and prosperity—calmly examine and reflect on what I write. I hold no place, office, or pension; I am no absentee; I am an Irishman, live in Ireland, and love Ireland: I wish to see her happy, but happiness is the result of order; I wish to see her prosperous, that is the result of industry; I wish to see every objectionable restraint removed, that can only be accomplished by a submission, a proud submission to the laws; that dignified submission that yields only to a sense of justice, because it is an attribute of deity, and derives true dignity from the homage that it pays. This exalts the human character; this, alone, is that which forms intellectual man. Look to your own country. Go back an hundred years. A system of disorganization and civil discord embroiled the land; the paramount party of to-day were the victims of the next; property disappeared, because

commotion and civil strife are enemies of property; those that remained were bound to the soil by poverty, and poverty, without labour, only generates itself. Thus Ireland became poor, not by external oppression, not by legal exaction, but by the conduct of her people. The demagogues, indeed, prospered; their harvest was rich and their granaries became full; the people, dissatisfied and disappointed, murmured and uttered complaints; this was the spirit the leaders sought for; they increased the discontents, and secured their own popularity, but the country was hastening to ruin. Discontent became bold, and broke into violence; from hence proceeded the hearts of steel, the white-boys, and, in our own day, the defenders and ribbonmen. Civil discord raged, property was insecure, talent fled from the land, but the leaders prospered. Was he a merchant? The factious, regardless of price, dealt only with him. Thus were the fair profits of trade impeded in their ordinary channels. Was he a lawyer? His bag was always filled with pleadings and with briefs. Thus were talent and integrity discouraged in the honourable pursuit of profit or of

fame. Violence pursued her march, and an organized rebellion appeared in arms in the field, rearing its banner against the constitution and legitimate government of the state. Shall I pause here—but you know the result yourselves! The leaders fled and were secure; the deluded people became the victims, and expiated their follies, or their crimes, on the scaffold or in the field.

Let us enter into the minutia of this rapid view, and examine the causes of these evils. Wherever violence exists, property is insecure; wherever property is insecure, it becomes extinguished. This is not the only evil: the extinction of property extinguishes all moral and social good. Property has a two-fold capacity, it is valuable to the individual and the state; it enriches the one, it increases the revenue of the other; in its operation, it creates capital, opens new sources of employment, multiplies the means of human existence, confers comforts, and brings in its train taste, science, independence, liberty. These are not its only blessings; it has others of a higher nature, that shoot their ramifications beyond the grave. Property is the reward of industry; industry leads to order, regular habits,

moral feeling, and social good. Communities of men may exist by rapine or by war; the consequences are vice, idleness, crime, and death; but a community of men, engaged in the pursuits of peaceful industry, generate peace, and lead man to a love of his neighbour, a proper estimate of himself, a regard for the interests of his family, moral excellence: until he is led by the chain of social blessing to the fountain of all good; and man, in the midst of his labour and prosperity, secured by industry, bows in gratitude to Him who confers all, and may be said to converse with his Maker, through the blessings he has bestowed upon him. I make no distinction of creeds; I address myself not to any party; I speak to all, because all are interested. Wherever property is secured, it has an inherent faculty to multiply itself. I know violence may destroy what the law has declared should be secure, but I wish to shew the necessity of a due regard for law, a hatred of violence and respect of property, because your own interests are involved in it. If property multiply itself, it increases the means of human happiness; if a labourer or tradesman, by patient and honest

application, secure the means of taking a farm or commencing a manufacture, he multiplies the means of labour, the person employed becomes the employer, more hands are wanted to till the soil or impel the shuttle. The employed, in their turn, secure property, and the same process goes on to the diffusion of comfort, happiness, wealth, and enjoyment; the individual becomes rich; the nation becomes great. This is the history of man in every country where a due regard is paid to industry, order, and law. Thus your Byrnes, and Keoghs, and Scullys became rich. The same means will secure the same ends, and thus you may become rich yourselves.

But why has not this process been more extensive in its operation in Ireland? A love of faction, of civil strife, of politics in its worst sense, that criminal anti-religious attachment to politics that leads to a hatred, not a love, of man, a determined and interminable hostility to all those, who wish to secure the rewards of labour by taking new farms, and increasing their own and the national wealth. Are not the same means open to you by which they ac-

quired property, and its acquisition only prevented by a love of idleness and violence? Have the industrious one comfort which you cannot secure as they did? Are not the same enjoyments acquirable by the same means? If they are surrounded by every comfort, secured from all violence but yours—if their families are happy, and yours miserable—if they enjoy raiment, and food, and comparative independence, and you are deprived of all—if they are laborious, industrious, and moral, and you idle, profligate, and vicious, the reward is their own, and the penalty is yours. But mark! this punishment that proceeds from the indulgence of vice, is not attributable to law; the law wishes to counteract and restrain the evil; the law, remember, secures property, and thus encourages industry; if you violate both, the error is not in the law, but in you; your own vices produce the punishment. The nature of all law is to prevent, rather than to punish, crimes; but if you resist this preventive operation, you become the victim, and you deserve to be so. Blame not the law, then, but yourselves; the shield of the law is over you, avail yourselves of its pro-

tection, and do not pull it from the judgment-seat to wound and crush you.

See the effects of your own turbulence. You burn the house of an industrious man, the accumulated property of his life : if you do not prevent it, by murder, he flies from it ; another fears to occupy the same farm, alarmed by your denunciations and violence ; the principle proceeds, and desolation covers the land. The industrious tenant seeks security in a foreign clime, and the disgusted, and deservedly indignant, landlord, takes the remnant of his fortune to spend amongst a people whose habits are moral, peaceable, and orderly. Yet you raise an outcry against the evils you yourselves have produced ; you declaim against absentees—your own conduct makes the absentee. You say there is no reward for labour, yet you destroy the results of labour, property. You complain of poverty, you have made your own : and when you sit, famished and in rags, amidst the desolation you have formed, you exclaim against the laws for the effects, which an adherence to them would have prevented, and which your own criminal violence has made. This language, my

countrymen, is not courteous, but it is honest : if its nature is not what in such a case is absurdly called conciliatory, it is sincere : if it is not an opiate to lull you asleep amidst your wrongs—wronges of which you are the authors, it is the knife of the operator that must extirpate the gangrene, which, if suffered to remain, will eventually destroy the patient.

I wish I could touch your hearts ; I wish I could arouse your understandings to a sense of your true interests. Remember that the best of all reform is a reformation of ourselves. When the rabble politician prates of reform, he never tells you this. He says reform must come from without ; believe him not, it must commence within, it must be in ourselves. This determination once adopted, it naturally and consequentially produces reform from without, because the mind, the feelings, and the actions, are prepared to receive and adopt it. Make this your first resolution, and adhere to it. A love of order is the first step in the series that leads to industry ; industry inspires a love of law, because law protects it. Submission to law brings security, peace, the comforts and enjoy-



ments of life, happiness and independence. It is in every man's power to enjoy or reject those blessings, because he is a free agent. The consequences of both are before you. Choose happiness or misery.

There is another class of my countrymen to whom I would address a few observations, the landlords and the land-owners of Ireland. In every nation they are the most influential class, but in no nation could that influence be so beneficially exerted as in our own. The relief of the poor, the employment of the industrious, the protection of the injured, the example of moral virtue, and respect for the laws, devolve peculiarly on them. They are looked up to as objects of imitation. How salutary to a state; how important to public morals, if the example be honourable and virtuous—how fatal to the interests of a country, if it be of an opposite character; it is this want of an equal rule of public conduct, even amongst our gentry, from which its principal disorders have proceeded. It is the ever springing fountain from which our chief misfortunes have flowed. In every well organized state, law should be the sole rule of public conduct, it

admits of no mistakes, no false impressions, no unequal or unjust inferences—it is made for all, and should be the governing principle of all. No excuse then is left for doubt, it furnishes no modifications for the escape of the crafty; no instrument for the oppression of the weak; it is a shield cast over society, and its motto is “equal protection:” “*Lex est a numine tracta ratio*.”\* Yet, notwithstanding this, its saving spirit has been banished from the land from the want of its due administration. One man has a faction to support, a party to manage, a system of interests to promote. The tenantry of each imbibes the views and interests of each, these views and interests are in opposition to each other, hostility is engendered, turbulence and outrage appear, and in such a state of things, law, which to all should be protection, to some must necessarily appear vengeful and oppressive, as the military must be called in to execute the laws against those who have violated them. Even the moderate, the humane, and the wise, must resort to this last expedient, to secure the inno-

\* Cicero.

cent and unoffending from outrage; and the misguided and the credulous peasantry never feel that they were supporting principles and actions that subverted the peace and order of society, until they experience the consequences of their folly in the steel of the soldier, or the axe of the executioner. These men were engaged for the accomplishment of objects not their own, to achieve designs in which they had no interest. They alone are the victims. This would be revolting to humanity and justice, even in a state without law. The generous and the wise would weep over such sacrifices even in a tribe of barbarians, governed by the mere instincts of nature. Thank God this conduct is confined to few, very few; but the influence of one bad example may make a thousand victims. The humbler classes, where the people are enthusiastic and brave, feel a pride in imitating those whom rank has placed above them.

*Velocius ac citius nos*

*Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica magnis*

*Cum subeunt animos auctoribus.\**

\* Juvenal,

They will have their own parties, their own objects to attain, their own wrongs to redress. Their mode of redress is violence. The nation is thus involved in a desolating, secret warfare, to the extinction of property, morals, and religion. If these are the effects, and they unhappily are the effects of a factious and party spirit, is it not time to pause; to forget party hatred in a love of country; to inculcate an obedience to law, and to make your congratulations not arise from a party triumph over an unworthy antagonist or a fallen foe, but in administering justice in equality and mercy; to make your tenantry happy; to merge your own interests in the interests of your country, which would ultimately lead to your own personal aggrandizement in its progressive greatness, and consummate all in a strict obedience to law and devotion to your king.

I believe it is the Abbe Raynal, who, in giving a definition of law, says, "it moves in a groove, it leans to neither side." Take his definition and practise it. Such conduct procures universal respect and love. It gives influence, it gives power—the power of doing good; to

protect the weak, to redress the injured, to maintain equality of right. Look to its consequences, for here you are personally interested. Peace, order, good government, growing prosperity, accumulation of capital, of that productive fund that gives impulse to new arts, new manufactures, new outlets for the genius, talent, and industry of your country to expand themselves. These are the effects; will you impede their realization? We want these; encourage the means to procure them; the benefit is all your own.

Look to your country; the fertility of its valleys; the richness of its hills, containing various ores, and the most valuable mines; look to her numerous harbours; her innumerable commercial stations; her people, ardent, intellectual, generous, brave, and enthusiastic. See the blessings these are capable of, if directed to wise and prudent ends. These are yours! They have been misdirected and misapplied. Let the reproach last no longer; turn your attention to the resources of your country, and you will soon see it happy, prosperous, and flourishing. Your union with England will then produce all those

advantages, which the wisdom of the great men who accomplished it, intended. Capitalists will settle among you; they will bring with them their wealth, their arts, their improvements in machinery and manufactures. The union then, in the wise principles of a sound legislation, will, like mercy, produce a double benefit. "It will bless not only him that gives, but him that takes." This will be the real union that was anticipated, a complete consolidation of interests, property, happiness, and law. If these consequences have not arisen, or only in a partial degree, the fault is our own. "'Tis not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings." Capital will not settle where it is not secure; the manufacturer will not dispose of his wealth, the reward of a long life of industry, where his machinery may be burned by the midnight ruffian, or his warehouses destroyed. This is the cause, the real cause, why the Union has not already produced the most important and lasting benefits. The prevention is in for this, thousands that have gone Atlantic to seek a foreign home impassable forests or burning wastes

Apalachian mountains, would now be happy in their native land. This is the true cause of their expatriation ; this is the source of our misfortunes and our sorrows, which

*" Veluti tabes tacitis concepta medullis,  
Intra membra, furens curis latrantibus, errat."\**

But it is not too late to redeem the error ; let us do it now, and return to peace, concord, and love of one another ; improve the condition of your tenantry ; remember they are the sources of your wealth ; make them, in its true sense, feel the joys of home ; give them better habitations, the improvement will repay yourselves, give them the comforts of life in an adequate reward for their industry. Man loves his progeny, and when he sees a smiling, happy, well-fed family, instead of a squalid, miserable, idle, vicious race, his heart will expand to a love of order - peace, that has procured these the turbulent, midnight, re- w, will become the peaceable,

\* Petronius.

industrious, loyal subject, the good father, and the moral man.

These things are attainable. What I have stated is the history of intellectual man, guided by moral feeling, and it is inherent in his nature, until it is expelled by faction, idleness, and outrage. Twenty years would give Ireland an imposing attitude in the scale of nations, if she were wise ; a neglect of the principles I have laid down will produce a deterioration that will multiply the evils we suffer, and will leave us, like a wreck, upon the naked strand, a monument of ruin, and a prey to the first daring hand that chooses to seize it.

Catholics of Ireland, I approach you in a spirit of peace and honest conciliation. I know your situation as well as yourselves. I live amongst you. I have examined your claims with deep attention ; I have heard them stated by the wisest and the soundest men of your own party : I know their opinions, their feelings, and their hopes. I know what are the wishes of the wise and judicious amongst you : *Catholics of Ireland be guided by them.* If the demagogues take a part now, let it be the act of the



demagogues: contempt and failure will follow it. If, under the guidance of these men, you suffer yourselves to be led astray, repentance afterwards cannot remove the evil. Will you, before your king treads on your shores, prepare a list of grievances, which, in its true acceptance, is an implied reproach, to meet him. Will you convey to the royal bosom an insult for a welcome. Will you unfurl the banner of defiance in his path, and refuse to strew it with the olive of peace. Will you, as *politic* men, awaken an unkind feeling in that breast, that was always friendly to you, or cherish and enlarge its royal intentions to a successful completion of your wishes. Your future hopes are balanced upon a pivot, where a vacillation to either side may realize or destroy them. Sound policy, or a wise discretion, would direct you to keep them where they are, if you cannot make the balance preponderate in your favour. If the leaders are resolved to sacrifice your dearest interests, let it be the work of the leaders alone. The Catholic body, by a bold, decisive, and honest effort, can crush their designs and extinguish this hollow, treacherous expression of loyalty,

blended with a list of wrongs, by one single act. If the leaders are determined upon this unwise, this ruinous plan ; a plan that is treason against yourselves, come forward, Catholics of Ireland, in every county in the kingdom, and receive your monarch with addresses, not containing lists of grievances and menacing reproach, but with the real and spontaneous expressions of loyalty which you feel, and give your monarch a kingly welcome. This is true loyalty at all times ; this is the loyalty you feel, the free, unbought, unmixed attachment to your sovereign and the laws ; this is the dignified sentiment of lofty and gallant minds, that enobles, while it gives ; that exalts, while it pays homage, and participates in royal feeling, in the avowal of its attachment. This, in the language of our illustrious countryman,\* is indeed " the unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations," that willing valour that stands by the throne to defend it ; that ardent self-devotion that offers itself up to maintain its stainless honour ; that shoots its own impulses into the mind

\* Burke.

of nations, to raise and exalt them, and inspires that noble and fearless daring in defence of the laws and constitution of the state, of which the king is the parent and the protector, and without whom political society is dissolved into its original elements. This is true loyalty, unbought, unpaid, not to be purchased, because, though it impels to acts of glory and renown, its own source is mental, and incapable of being mixed up with grosser matter.

This is the spirit in which every wise and judicious Catholic will receive his king. If he come, it must be in the spirit of conciliation; do you refuse to meet him with corresponding feelings? Will you suffer his presence to be over-shadowed by the gloomy, morose, and misanthropic designs of a secret and turbulent faction, that have already blasted your hopes, and blighted the opening blossoms of your fortunes. Set a mark on these men now, or your interests will be supposed to identify with theirs. If you neglect this, sound policy and a wholesome regard to the true interests of the constitution and the laws, will feel it a duty to resist schemes calculated, in their operation, to

subvert the constitution and the laws. If you permit it to be even imagined that you act with them, your exclusion will be the same, as your acts will be supposed the same.

The Irish people are a chivalrous people in its best sense, when they are not led astray by artful and designing men. Courage and generosity are their charter. These dispositions should lead to a proper appreciation of your king. You owe him a large debt of gratitude. I inquire not into the causes, or reasons, or passions, that led to the enactment of the penal laws, it is enough to state, that in the reign of His present Majesty's father they were repealed. A right to purchase lands ; a right to acquire property ; to elect your own representatives ; a toleration of your religion, full, free, and unrestrained, as that of the religion of the state ; equal laws ; equal protection. These are great benefits ; you owe them to him ; pay to the son the debt of gratitude circumstances prevented your paying his father ; this, in a moral sense, would be honest ; in a political sense, it would be wise. Do not act with precipitancy, and accuse others for the consequences your own folly may incur.

But the king, as king, in a constitutional sense, has nothing to do with the Catholic claims; his office is to administer what is law. The question must first be entertained by parliament, and the final result is placed, by law, in the executive branch of the constitution; the question, in a constitutional manner, has never come before the king. Had the two houses passed the bill, and the king, exercising his undoubted right, had put a negative upon it, then there might be a pretence for such an address as the leaders contemplate. I say, might be, for even then, such an address would be unwarrantable, as the king had done no more than what the law enabled him to do, in the exercise of a just and undoubted prerogative.

There is another consideration which I beg to press on my countrymen. It is said, the Union has been injurious to Dublin in its trading and commercial interests. I have already touched on this subject, and pointed out the real sources from which these misfortunes have flowed. But in the present branch of the discussion, let the fact be admitted. If the king

laments the consequences, (though the real causes of the evil can be removed only by ourselves,) and wishes to lessen or remove the evil by occasional visits to this country, where, from the number of the nobility that will attend him, a considerable expenditure of money must necessarily take place, calculated to revive our drooping manufactures and commerce, raise the value of houses, and, by a wide diffusion of capital, improve and enrich us, is it, on such an occasion, that a treacherous and hollow patriotism would extract from the pockets of the merchant and manufacturer the sale of their merchandize and the profits of their labour, by pursuing a line of conduct as impolitic as it is unwise and injurious. Receive these visits in a spirit of good faith and confidence, and you secure to the city of Dublin ample compensation for the Union.

Irishmen, a few words more and I have done. The king is preparing to land upon your shores; to every man this should be a subject of congratulation and pride.

The line of Brunswick is the most ancient now existing in the world. It shoots into an

antiquity so remote, as to be lost in fable : but it can distinctly challenge an unbroken succession of thirty-three generations and one thousand years. Hardly a throne in Europe on which its princes, either directly or by intermarriage, have not sat ; and the most cultivated parts of Asia have acknowledged their sway. An ancient ancestry is always valuable, as it excites to virtue and to honour, to noble achievement and national benefit. No nation should cherish this feeling more than you. Your ancestry, though remote, is ascertained ; though darkened in a long lapse of ages, still honoured ; overshadowed, yet venerated ; though dead, still living in the high-toned feeling, the lofty sentiments, the chivalrous valour, the dignified courtesy, of its present descendants. Here is a common alliance of virtue and of pride. Hail, then, the coming of your king, as the inhabitants of the Ark received the dove. He comes with the olive, the harbinger of hope and peace. The flood has subsided ; the desolation is over ; all is promise, and hope, and joy. A wise conduct will realize

\* See Sir Andrew Halliday's admirable work, "The History of the Royal Family of Great Britain."

those hopes for yourselves and your posterity. Catholics of Ireland, I feel full confidence that this conduct will be yours ; but if the leaders, unadmonished by your example, uninstructed by your wisdom, are determined to persevere in their ruinous plan, tell them, in the language of the patriot Roman, language applicable to all ages and times, but peculiarly applicable to them, that,

“ Libertas populi quem regna coercent  
Libertate perit, cujus servaveris umbram.”\*

\* Lucan.

*July 2d, 1821.*

THE END.



**ERRATUM.**

**In last line of p. 5, for Aurelian, read Adrian.**



# ERRATUM.

In last line of p. 5, *for Aurelian, read Adrian.*





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